1: Burrows--125-126 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 768, 158 Ifalik

"Destruction of property is a traditional outlet for extreme grief or rage, --witness the wrecking of houses by Galēt in the myth (p. 54), when he was made to feel what a loss he had suffered in the abduction of his wife. Such destruction may appear as an extreme form of mourning. The only instance during our stay was the act of a young man of Falālap after his mother's death. He burned their house. He had been particularly attached to her. In addition, he was deeply and frequently disturbed by more or less violent outbursts on the part [126] of his father, who was the most troublesome of the island's psychotics, and had kept the mother in a state of terror toward the end of her life. It seems safe to say that the relief which this act may have afforded was its only reward. It is economic only as an exceptional form of consumption of property."

1: Burrows--149-150 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 683, 158 Ifalik 1-3

"The lone human culprit was 'Tarof', the only troublesome one of several psychopaths on the island. As already shown in the account of his violation of the tabu site on Katēlū, he could not stand authority. Most of the time he seemed more dangerous to himself than to anybody else, as he made several ineffectual attempts to commit suicide. Once he struck a young man, who was himself something of a 'mental case' and who, Spiro thought, had probably provoked the attack by teasing. Again, he was reported to have thrown a stone at his mother-in-law. He was moved from Falālap to Rauau at the request of his wife, who had been living in terror of him. In Rauau, too, he frightened the women of the household and neighborhood. At last he was moved into a house that stood off by itself.

Twice, after his escapades, he was tied hand and foot. The decision to do this was reached, so far as I could make out, by his male relatives. One of these was Maroligar, senior chief of Rauau district, where all this went on. Tarof, the patient, particularly resented Maroligar's chiefly estate. The one time that I saw him tied up, it was Maroligar who first took hold of him and laid him on the ground for tying. But this was the only evidence I saw of Maroligar assuming more responsibility than anybody else. He did not take charge and give orders, as he did in the bonito fishing or (less conspicuously) in such Rauau public works as the repair of a canoe-house. He seemed to be acting, not in his capacity as a chief, but simply as one of the relatives. The whole affair was handled as a family matter, rather than a governmental one.

Two or three times, much to the shame of his relatives and the chiefs, Tarof took little articles from our tent: once a calendar hung from a post, once a bush-knife, once an intrenching tool; never food. The calendar was brought back from the house where Tarof by that time was living alone. The knife he brought back himself. He had used it only to cut a piece of wood for some harmless purpose. The intrenching tool he returned, with a lavish gift of angorIk (turmeric). He had used it only to dig this offering for us.

That is the sum of the overt misconduct we observed on Ifalik, except for a few accidental glimpses of furtive love-making. On the whole our observations leave the impression that the people of Ifalik are so law-abiding as to leave the chiefs very little to do in the way of law enforcement. The chiefs occupy themselves more with prevention--in haranguing the people about how they ought to behave--than with punishment. Most of their decisions and orders are concerned with public [150] works: communal fishing expeditions, repair of canoe-houses, making of seines, and so on. The shortage of evidence as to misconduct and punishment, however disappointing to ethnographers in search of specific data, is a striking tribute to the success of the native government in maintaining law and order. For the most part, public opinion seems to keep behavior within the approved channels so well that negative sanctions do not have to be invoked. An apparent exception is adultery. In that respect, the government of Ifalik seems to be in the same position as our own local governments, which do not attempt

to supervise the sexual behavior of the citizens except in the comparatively rare cases when formal complaints are brought in, or scandal becomes so flagrant that it can not be overlooked."

28: Spiro--36 [2]
116, 784, 358, 158, 264

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

28: Spiro--60 [2]
116, 164, 158, 732

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally, the alus are responsible for an incurable disease, the malebush, which includes both abnormal and subnormal mentalfunctioning. There were four cases of feeble-mindedness--all in children--and three of abnormality, both schizophrenics-- one paranoid, and one simplex, and a neurotic suffering from agorophobia. Aside from the classification of both the mentally-ill and the mentally-deficient together, it is of interest that the natives classified these cases as aberrant types. The feeble-minded children and the paranoid schizophrenic were possessed by an alusetat, whereas the simple schizophrenic was possessed by the alusefalu. Finally, the agorophobic was possessed by one of the sky alusengau. Unlike the other cases, malebush has no cure."

28: Spiro--73 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-13
116, 428, 756, 158 Ifalik

"The person, who has figured so prominently in these ceremonies, Arogeligar, is the tamon alusuia, leader for (matters concerning) the alus. The tamon alusuia is the religio-medical specialist, but like the other specialists he devotes only part of his time to his specialty, since he assumes the same economic responsibilities as the other men. The office of tamon alusuia is inherited patrilineally, it being passed on from the incumbent to any male relative in his patrilineal line, so that Arogeligar succeeded his father's brother to the office. But descent is not sufficient, for a successor must be designated by Tilitr in a state of possession for the office. The incumbent in the office appoints a male relative as his successor upon the request of the latter, and instructs his in the lore and knowledge of the position. At the death of the tamon, his designated successor seeks possession or a vision, not unlike the Plains Indians vision. Arogeligar, for example, brought Tilitr gifts of food and flowers to his shrine. He ate and slept very little, if at all, and asked Tilitr to appear to him. Finally Tilitr did appear, in late afternoon, and Arogeligar remained possessed for four days. Tilitr appeared in the form of a man, rested heavily on Arogeligar's shoulders, and spoke to him in Ifalukian. Tilitr taught him how to call upon him for medicine, and he instructed him to 'look out good this place, the people and the chief for this place. If you don't, you very bad man.' This experience, then, made Arogeligar a full-fledged tamon alusuia.

Since that initial possession, Tilitr has possessed Arogeligar many times, either to inform him of some event, as when he told him of the impending American victory over

the Japanese, or to give him medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine to employ in a certain illness. For after Arogeligar diagnoses any illness, he then goes to bwuter Tilitr, and asks Tilitr if he should apply medicine to the victim, and what kind. Tilitr then answers him, instructing him how to obtain the medicine. Arogeligar informed me that he is usually possessed at least twice a week, and sometimes more often. When Arogeligar talks to Tilitr, asking for medicine, his request has the same name as a conversation with a mortal, 'Meliali'. There is no term corresponding to our term, prayer, for there really is no concept of prayer. The chapeng are really incantations. When Tilitr possesses Arogeligar, he uses him as the mouthpiece through which he speaks, so that it is Tilitr and not Arogeligar who is speaking. This is called Arogeligar le'Tilitr.

Unlike the other people who are possessed only by the alus of their lineage, Arogeligar is possessed only by [sic] and by Tilikong, an alus who does the bidding of Tilitr. The tamon alusuia assumes the name of our alus when he takes office. Arogeligar is Tilievo. His successor has chosen Talevearo.

It is apparent that though the possession and induction into the office of tamon alusuia involves a personal, psychological experience, it is one that is completely culturally patterned. Only certain individuals can inherit the office; they prepare for it by formal

training, and by psychological conditioning, so that it is not strange that the sought-for vision should materialize."

29: Spiro--197 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 158 Ifalik

"November 23, 1947. Maroligar came running to our tent to inform me that Tarev had just attempted to burn his house. His mother had discovered it in time and had beaten him for this act. I went to investigate the matter, and, by the time I arrived at his house, a number of men had gathered outside. As I was speaking to the men, Tarev came out of the house, seized my hand and smelled it. He was very agitated--perhaps in the worst condition I had seen him--and seemed to display a mixture of rage, anger, and fear. Tom was unavailable so that it was impossible to obtain a formal interview. I managed to gather from his incoherent and agitated speech that the people were again speaking 'bad' and wanted to kill him. I finally succeeded in allaying his fears, and he became fairly calm.

The men finally concluded that they must take some measure to prevent another outbreak, and asked me if they should tie him up. They said that Aneitin (the other schizophrenic) had been violent in the past, but after being tied for a couple of days, his violence disappeared permanently. Perhaps it would have the same effect on Tarev. I suggested that they wait a little, that I would have dinner and would return after dinner. If he became violent, they should then tie him. They predicted that as soon as I left he would again become violent, but when I returned later in the evening, he was still quite peaceful."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 198, 158 Ifalik

"November 28, 1947. As we were finishing dinner yesterday, we saw Tarev walking towards our tent. He had chewed off his rope (which the people knew), and had then come to us (which they did not know). He was quite meek, and when I asked him to return to his house with me, he readily agreed. He told me that Maroligar, Tom, and Mageleisei had tried to kill him the night before. I tried to persuade him that this was not true, but he would not be convinced.

As I passed his house later in the evening he was singing, talking, and shouting in a number of different tones. Again the men informed me that they did not know what he was saying, that it all was strange to them."